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THE STATE JOURNAL.

CHAUNCEY L. KNAPP, EDITOR.

MONTPELIER, MARCH 8, 1836.

The following is the official account of the doings of the Whigs at their State Convention last week. It will be perceived that one of their resolutions is in opposition to all secret societies—ay, and all monopolies, "particularly a monopoly of the patronage of the government for party purposes." In adopting as they have done, all the nominations of the Antislaverys, the Whigs have evinced a spirit of liberality which is highly creditable to them, and which demands a respectful recognition at our hands. The Jackson party, if they want to put down "secret societies and open monopolies," would do well to lay aside their strong ultra federal propensities, and go the same ticket, and thus "redeem the lost character of the State."

Whig Convention.

In pursuance of the call of the State Central Committee, the delegates of the people, to the number of one hundred and thirty, from different parts of the state, assembled at the court house in Montpelier, on Wednesday, Feb. 24th, 1836, and organized by the appointment of the Hon. JOHN MATTOCKS, President pro tempore, and Heman Swift, Secretary pro tempore.

Resolved, That all freemen of this state present, or who may be present at the convention, who disapprove of the office holder's nomination at Baltimore for the Presidency, and of the nominee's pledge to follow in the footsteps of the present incumbent, be invited to take seats in this convention and participate in its deliberations.—Adopted.

Messrs. Walton, Paddock, and Hodges were appointed a committee to prepare the business of the convention.

Messrs. Clark, Reed, Cutler, Dean of Burlington, Owen and Pierce, to nominate a list of officers of the convention.

Convention adjourned to half past one o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

The committee appointed to prepare business made the following report, which was accepted and its recommendations adopted:

That the officers of this convention consist of a President, two Vice Presidents and two Secretaries.

That a committee of seven be raised to make a nomination of candidates for President and Vice President of the U. S.

That a committee of twelve be raised to nominate electors of President and Vice President and a ticket for state officers.

That a committee of three be appointed to draft and publish an address to the freemen of this state on the subject of the ensuing election.

The committee appointed to nominate a list of officers reported the following nominations, which were concurred in:

Hon. JOHN MATTOCKS, President.

Hon. Ephraim Paddock, 2 Vice Pres.

Hon. Robert Pierpont, 2 Secretaries.

Doct. Heman Swift, 2 Secretaries.

Charles Baxter, Esq., 2 Secretaries.

Messrs. Ephraim Paddock, Myron Clark, Robert Pierpont, Joseph Howes, Augustus Young, Charles Paine, and Ville Lawrence were appointed to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

Messrs. Heman Swift, Barnabas Dean, G. T. Hodges, Saml F. Taylor, Luther Carpenter, Peter Starr, Carlos Baxter, H. H. Reed, Major Holley, Mr. Sumner of Orleans, Carter Chamberlain and Dorastus Wooster were appointed to nominate an electoral ticket and state officers.

Messrs. Robert Pierpont, Edgar L. Ormsbee, and Selah H. Merrill were appointed to draft an address to the people.

The committee appointed to make a nomination for state officers, reported the following:

For Governor, SILAS H. JENISON.

For Lieut. Gov. DAVID M. CAMP.

For Treasurer, AGUSTINE CLARK.

After the acceptance of the report and debate, the convention resolved unanimously to concur in the nomination and recommend it to the support of the freemen.

The committee appointed to nominate candidates for President and Vice President reported the names of

WM. H. HARRISON, of Ohio,

for President,

FRANCIS GRANGER, of New-York,

for Vice President.

The report being accepted, Mr. Briggs, after introductory remarks, moved to substitute the name of DANIEL WEBSTER for that of WM. H. HARRISON.

Mr. Wooster of Middlebury opposed the motion in a speech of some length, when Mr. Briggs, to procure harmony and union of feeling and effort, withdrew his motion, and the report of the committee was adopted by an unanimous vote.

Mr. Briggs then offered the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That this convention, in recommending to the freemen of this state the names of HARRISON and GRANGER, as candidates for the highest offices in the gift of a free people, discard all feeling of man-worship; and firmly believe, that, if elected, they will be emphatically the officers of the nation, and not the leaders of a party.

Resolved, That the eminent talents of

DANIEL WEBSTER, his faithful and important public services, private virtues, and uncompromising fidelity to the Constitution, endear him to a large proportion of the freemen of Vermont, and entitle him to the lasting gratitude of his country.

Resolved, That this convention approve the bill, introduced into the Senate of the U. S. by HENRY CLAY, dividing the proceeds of the public lands among the states according to population—by which Vermont will now receive nearly HALF A MILLION dollars, to which she is justly entitled, it being the proceeds of the common property of the states.

Convention adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

THURSDAY, Feb. 25.

The following resolutions were introduced, and, after separate consideration and spirited and appropriate remarks from the gentlemen who introduced them, adopted:

Resolved, That the present important crisis in our national affairs should call forth the talents of every tried and faithful statesman, and requires the vigilant action of every friend of liberty throughout the country.

Resolved, That this convention view as among the most alarming signs of the times, the efforts of those high in office to concentrate power, civil and military, the purse and sword, in their own hands—thus attempting to render the ruler independent of the people—the servant above his master.

Resolved, That all legislative power is derived from the people, and is to be exercised solely for their benefit, under the restraints imposed by the constitution, and that all legislation tending to elevate the few to the injury of the many is unjust and unconstitutional.

Resolved, That this convention regards the supremacy of the laws and the inviolability of the constitution as the great preservative principles of free governments.

Resolved, That this convention approve the able, dignified and patriotic course of the majority of the Senate of the United States, for the last six years, and particularly that we view their stern resistance of the appropriations, of three millions, proposed in accordance with the secret instigation of the Executive, the last night of the last session, as among the best evidences of their devotion to the constitution and to the people.

Resolved, That the depositing of a large proportion of the people's money in State Banks, irresponsible to the nation, giving to the Executive of this republic the controlling influence of many millions of Banking capital, is, in the view of this convention, a species of monopoly which should rouse the watchful jealousy of every republican Freeman.

Resolved, that to perpetuate the republican principles of the people of Vermont, minor considerations and sectional feelings among freemen of the same political faith should be sacrificed upon the altar of patriotism and the public good; and be merged in a union of action in view of the approaching elections.

Resolved, that this convention cordially approve of the abandonment of the masonic institution in compliance with the call of public opinion; and disapprove of all secret societies, and all monopolies, particularly a monopoly of the patronage of the government for party purposes.

Adjourned to 7 o'clock this evening.

Evening session. The convention met pursuant to adjournment, when the committee appointed to nominate electors of President and Vice President of the United States, reported the following, which was accepted and unanimously adopted:

Ezra Butler,

Titus Hutchinson,

David Crawford,

Asa Aldis,

Jabez Proctor,

Zamri Howe,

Wm A Griswold.

The following resolutions were then introduced and severally passed:

Resolved, That when the delegates of this convention return to their constituents, they will use all proper exertions to secure the success of its nominations.

Resolved, That as intelligence is the life of liberty, and the diffusion of correct information upon political subjects essentially contributes to that intelligence, it is the duty of every freeman in the State of Vermont to encourage the circulation of newspapers known to be sound in the political faith; and that the members of this convention will be active in their efforts to carry into effect the principles of this resolution.

Resolved, That the central State Committee, be requested to appoint county committees in each county, whose duty it shall be to call county conventions when deemed necessary; and that the state central committee be authorized to fill all vacancies that may occur in the nominations of this convention.

Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be awarded to the President and Vice Presidents for the able, intelligent and dignified manner in which they have presided over its deliberations.

To which the President replied:

When, after the passage of a resolution for publishing its proceedings in all the papers in this State, whose editors may be disposed to insert them—

The convention adjourned without day.

JOHN MATTOCKS, President.

ROBERT PIERPONT, Vice

EPHRAIM PADDOCK, Presidents.

Heman Swift, Secretaries.

CHARLES BAXTER, Secretaries.

TEMPERANCE.

Pursuant to public notice, a general temperance meeting was held at the brick church on the 23d ult. at one o'clock, P. M. Prayer by Rev. J. Redington.

The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Jeduthan Loomis, C. L. Knapp, John Redington, E. P. Walton, and Jos. B. Eastman, and adjourned to half past six o'clock.

EVENING. Prayer by Rev. Elihu Scott. Temperance statistics by Rev. C. Wright. On motion of Rev. Mr. Redington, seconded by Hon. J. Loomis,

Resolved, That we consider the production of ardent spirits, and the distribution of them, in any community, either as an article of traffic or otherwise, to be immoral, or contrary to the divine command, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

Adopted with one dissenting vote.

On motion of N. Baylies, jr. Esq. seconded by E. P. Walton, jr., it was unanimously

Resolved, That the young men of the United States are most vitally interested in the success of the temperance cause, and that they are called upon by every principle of duty, to exert themselves to effect its complete triumph.

ANTHEM—from the Boston Academy Collection.

Sons and daughters of the Pilgrims,
Who of noble birth are proud,
Lo! the glorious cause of temperance
For exertion calls aloud;
While the monster
Still within the land is found.

See! the loathsome demark reeling;
Hark! the cries of weeping friends;
Hear the mother, children pleading
Heaven relief would quickly send!
Cruel tyrant!
When will all thy miseries end!

O thou great and mighty Saviour,
Haste thee on the glorious day,
When the powerful arch deceiver
Shall no more his wrath display;
Then our cause
Will gain the universal sway.

On motion of J. B. Eastman, seconded by C. L. Knapp, it was unanimously

Resolved, That it is the duty of the ladies, as christians, as wives, as mothers, as sisters, as members of the social community—to use all their influence to promote the cause of total abstinence.

Gen. E. P. Walton introduced the following:

As the temperance cause is identified with the cause of virtue and humanity, the cause of God and our country, and under the smiles of Providence, must depend for success upon the untiring and persevering efforts of its friends,

Resolved, That, to render its triumph complete and its blessings permanent and universal, the friends of temperance here and every where, should hang out their banner to the breeze, and whether it blow high or low, prosperous or adverse, their motto should be "TOTAL ABSTINENCE," and their watch-word ONWARD! ONWARD!

The resolutions were supported by remarks from the gentlemen who moved and seconded them, and on the adoption of the last amid cries of ONWARD! ONWARD! ONWARD! from different parts of the house, the annexed parody on Old Lang Syne was sung by the choir, and the meeting adjourned.

A PARODY—OLD LANG SYNE.

Let drinking run now be forgot,
And never brought to mind;
Let drinking run now be forgot,
And cider, beer and wine.

For rum and beer we pay full dear,
With rosy nose and eyes;
We'll take a glass of water now,
For sure we're growing wiser.

Now we can sing the good old wine
Shall conquer us no more,
We'll wheel about and victrol shout,
The conquest now is o'er.

And we would hurl this poison far,
That discolours our clime;
We would engage christian and sage
To banish beer and wine.

Nor ground your arms my trusty friends,
For caution sure is right,
Your vigil keep nor think to sleep,
But watch both day and night.

For tho' we now have signed the pledge,
And victory seems ours,
Yet some may try the ranks to fly,
And join opposing powers.

Let Arnold's fame e'er mark the name
Of him who quits his post;
But those who stand with sword in hand
We sure shall honor most.

The Montpelier Temperance Association held its annual meeting on the 26th ult. and elected the following officers, to wit: C. L. Knapp, President, H. G. Reynolds, Vice President, C. B. Stebbins, Secretary, C. B. Stebbins, W. K. Upham, Geo. Howes, and Wm. Howes, were appointed to solicit signatures to the temperance pledge and funds, to be expended by the executive officers, in the distribution of temperance publications. The friends of temperance are requested to take due notice and have their change ready. C. B. STEBBINS, Sec.

MR. CALHOUN'S REPORT.

IN SENATE, FEB. 4, 1836.

[Concluded.]

Having now shown that it belongs to the slaveholding States, whose institutions are in danger, and not to Congress, as is supposed by the message, to determine what papers are incendiary and intended to excite insurrection among the slaves, it remains to inquire, in the next place, what are the corresponding duties of the General Government, and the other States, from within whose limits and jurisdiction their institutions are attacked—a subject intimately connected with that with which the committee are immediately charged, and which, at the present juncture, ought to be fully understood by all the parties. The committee will begin with the first.

It may not be entirely useless to premise that rights and duties are reciprocal, the existence of a right always implying a corresponding duty. If consequently the right to protect her internal peace and security belongs to a state, the General Government is bound to respect the measures adopted by her for that purpose, and to co-operate in their execution, so far as its delegated powers may admit, or the measure may require. Thus, in the present case, the slaveholding states, have the unquestionable right to pass all such laws as may be necessary to maintain the existing relation between master and slave in those states, their right, of course, to prohibit the circulation of any publication, or any intercourse calculated to disturb or destroy that relation is incontrovertible. In the execution of the measures which may be adopted by the States for this purpose, the powers of Congress over the mail, and of regulating commerce with foreign nations and between the States, may require co-operation on the part of the General Government, and it is bound, in conformity to the principle established, to respect the laws of the State in their exercise, and so to modify its acts as not only to violate those of the States, but as far as practicable, to co-operate in their execution. The practice of the Government has been in conformity to these views.

By the act of the 28th of February, 1833, entitled "an act to prevent the importation of certain persons into certain States," where, by the laws of those States, their importation is prohibited, masters, or captains of ships or vessels of war are forbidden under severe penalty, "to import or bring, or cause to be imported or brought, any negro, or mulatto or person of color, not being a native or citizen, or registered seaman of the United States, or seamen, natives of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, in any port or place which shall be situated in any State which, by law, has prohibited or shall prohibit, the admission or importation of such negro, mulatto, or other person of color." This provision speaks for itself, and requires no illustration. It is a case in point, and fully embraces the principle laid down. To the same effect is the act of the 25th of February, 1793, respecting the quarantine and health laws, which, as belonging to the internal police of the States, stand on the same ground. The act, among other things, "directs the collectors and all other revenue officers, the masters and crews of the revenue cutters, and the military officers in command of the station, to co-operate faithfully in the execution of the quarantine and other restrictions which the health laws of the State may establish."

The principles embraced by these acts, in relation to the commercial intercourse of the country, are equally applicable to the intercourse by mail. There may, indeed, be more difficulty in co-operating with the States in the latter than in the former, but that cannot possibly affect the principle. Regarding it then, as established, both by reason and precedent, the committee, in conformity with it, have prepared a bill, and directed their chairman to report the same to the Senate, prohibiting, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment from office, and deputy postmaster, in any State, Territory, or District, from knowingly receiving and putting into the mail any letter, packet, pamphlet, paper, or pictorial representation, directed to any post-office or person in a State, Territory, or District by the laws of which the circulation of the same is forbidden; and also prohibiting, under a like penalty, any deputy postmaster in said State, Territory or District, from knowingly delivering the same, except to such persons as may be authorized to receive them by the civil authority of said State, Territory, or District.

It remains next to inquire into the duty of the States from within whose limits and jurisdiction the internal peace and security of the slaveholding States are endangered.

In order to comprehend more fully, the nature and extent of their duty, it will be necessary to make a few remarks on the relations which exist between the States of our Federal Union, with the rights and obligations reciprocally resulting from such relations.

It has already been stated that the States which compose our Federal Union, are sovereign and independent communities, united by a constitutional compact. Among its members, the laws of nations are in full force and obligation, except as altered or modified by the compact; and of course, the States possess, with that exception, all the rights, and are subject to all the duties, which separate and distinct communities possess, or to which they are subject. Among these are comprehended the obligation which all the States are under to preserve their citizens from disturbing other States; and in case of being disturbed or endangered, the right of the latter to demand of the former to adopt such measures

as will prevent their recurrence, and, if refused or neglected to resort to such measures as its protection may require.—This right remains, of course, among the States of this Union, with such limitations as are imposed expressly by the Constitution. Within their limits, the rights of the slaveholding States are as full to demand of the States within whose limits and jurisdiction their peace is assailed, to adopt the measures necessary to prevent the same, and if refused or neglected, to resort to means to protect themselves, as if they were separate and independent communities.

Those States, on the other hand, are not only under all the obligations which independent communities would be to adopt such measures, but also under the obligation which the Constitution superadds, rendered more sacred, if possible, by the fact that, while the Union imposes restrictions on the right of the States to defend themselves, it affords the medium through which their peace and security are assailed. It is not the intention of the committee to inquire what those restrictions are, and what are the means which, under the constitution, are left to the States to protect themselves. The period has not yet come, and they trust it never will come, when it may be necessary to decide those questions; but come it must, unless the States whose duty it is to suppress the danger shall see in time its magnitude, and the obligations which they are under to adopt speedy and effectual measures to arrest its further progress. That the full force of this obligation may be understood by all parties, the committee propose, in conclusion, to touch briefly on the movements of the abolitionists, with the view of showing the dangerous consequences, to which they must lead if not arrested.

Their professed object is the emancipation of the Slaves in the Southern States, which they propose to accomplish through the agency of organized Societies, spread throughout the non-slaveholding States, and a powerful press, directed mainly to excite, in the other states, hatred and abhorrence against the institutions and addresses of the slaveholding States, by addresses, lectures, and pictorial representations, abounding in false and exaggerated statements.

If the magnitude of this mischief affords, in any degree, the measure by which to judge of the criminality of the project, few have ever been devised to compare with the present, whether the end be regarded, or the means by which it is proposed to be accomplished. The blindness of fanaticism is proverbial. With more zeal than understanding, it constantly misconceives the nature of the object at which it aims, and towards which it rushes with headlong violence, regardless of the means by which it is to be effected. Never was its character more fully exemplified than in the present instance. Setting out with the abstract principle that slavery is an evil, the fanatical zealots come at once to the conclusion that it is their duty to abolish it, regardless of all the disasters which might follow.—Never was conclusion more false or dangerous. Admitting their assumption, there are innumerable things which, regarded in the abstract, are evils, but which it would be madness to attempt to abolish. Thus regarded, government itself is an evil, with most of its institutions intended to protect life and property, comprehending the civil as well as the criminal and military code, which are tolerated only because to abolish them would be to increase instead of diminishing the evil. The reason is equally applicable to the case under consideration; to illustrate which a few remarks on slavery, as it actually exists in the Southern States, will be necessary.

He who regards the relation of master and slave, as important as that relation is, viewed merely as a question of property to the slaveholding section of the Union, has a very imperfect conception of the history of the world. To understand its nature and importance fully, it must be borne in mind that slavery as it exists in Southern States, (including under the Southern all the slaveholding states) involves not only the relation of master and slave, but also, the social and political relation of the two races of nearly equal numbers, from different quarters of the globe, and the most opposite of all others in every particular that distinguishes one race of men from another. Emancipation would destroy these relations—would divest the masters of their property, and subvert the relation, social and political, that has existed between the races from almost the settlement of the Southern States.

It is not the intention of the committee to dwell on the pecuniary aspect of this vital subject; the vast amount of property involved, equal at least to 150,000,000 dollars; the ruin of families and individuals; the impoverishment and prostration of an entire section of the Union, and the fatal blow that would be given to the productions of the great agricultural staples on which the commerce, the navigation, the manufactures and the revenues of the country, almost entirely depend. As great as these disasters would be they are nothing compared to what must follow the subversion of the existing relation between the two races, to which the committee will confine their remarks.

Under this relation, the two races have long lived in peace and prosperity, and, if not disturbed, would long continue so. While the European race has rapidly increased in wealth and numbers, and at the same time has maintained an equality, at least morally and intellectually, with their brethren of the non-slaveholding

States, the African race has multiplied with no less rapidity, accompanied by great improvement, physically and intellectually, and the enjoyment of a degree of comfort with which the laboring class in few countries can compare, and confessedly greatly superior to what the free people of the same race possess in the non-slaveholding States. It may indeed be safely asserted that there is no example in history in which a savage people such as their ancestors were when brought into the country, have ever advanced in the same period so rapidly in numbers and improvement.

To destroy the existing relations would be to destroy this property, and to place the two races in a state of conflict which must end in the expulsion or extermination of one or the other. No other can be substituted compatible with their peace or security. The difficulty is in the diversity of the races. So strongly drawn is the line between the two in consequence of it, and strengthened by the force of habit and education, that it is impossible for them to exist altogether in the same community, where their numbers are so nearly equal as in the slaveholding states, under any other relation than that which now exists. Social and political equality between them is impossible. No power on earth can overcome the difficulty. The causes resisting lie too deep in the principles of our nature to be surmounted. But, without such equality, to change the present condition of the African race, were it possible, would be to change the form of slavery. It would make them the slaves of the community, instead of the slaves of individuals, with less responsibility and interest in their welfare on the part of the community than is felt by their masters; while it would destroy the security and independence of the European race, if the Africans should be permitted to continue in their changed condition within the limits of those States. They would look to the other States for support and protection, and would become virtually their allies and dependants; and would thus place in the hands of those States, the most effectual instrument to destroy the influence and control the destiny of the rest of the union.

It is against this relation between the two races that the blind and criminal zeal of the abolitionists is directed—a relation that now preserves in quiet and security more than 2,500,000 human beings, and which cannot be destroyed without destroying the peace and prosperity of nearly half the States of the Union, and involving their entire population in a deadly conflict that must terminate either in the expulsion or extermination of those who are the object of the misguided and false humanity of those who claim to be their friends.

He must be blind, indeed, who does not perceive that the subversion of a relation which must be followed with such disastrous consequences can only be effected by convulsions that would devastate the country, burst asunder the bonds of the Union, and engulf in a sea of blood, the institutions of the country. It is madness to suppose that the slaveholding states would quietly submit to be sacrificed. Every consideration—interest, duty and humanity; the love of country, the sense of wrong, hatred of oppressors, and treacherous and faithless confederates, and, finally, despair, would impel them to the most daring and desperate resistance in defence of property, family, country, and existence.

But wicked and cruel as is the end aimed at, it is fully equalled by the criminality of the means by which it is proposed to be accomplished. These, as has been stated, consist in organized societies, and a powerful press, directed mainly with a view to excite the bitterest animosity and hatred of the people of the non-slaveholding States against the citizens and institutions of the slaveholding states. It is easy to see to what disastrous results such means must tend. Passing over their more obvious effects, their tendency to excite to insurrection and servile war, with all its horrors, and the necessity which such tendency must impose on the slaveholding States to resort to the most rigid discipline and severe police, to the great injury of the present condition of the slaves, there remains another threat, ening incalculable mischief to the country.

The inevitable tendency of the means to which the abolitionists have resorted to effect their object, must, if persisted in, end in completely alienating the two great sections of the Union. The incessant action of hundreds of societies, and a vast printing establishment, throwing out daily thousands of artful and inflammatory publications, must make, in time, a deep impression on the section of the Union where they freely circulate, and are mainly designed to have effect. The well informed and thoughtful may hold them in contempt, but the young, the inexperienced and thoughtless will receive the poison. In process of time, when the number of proselytes is sufficiently multiplied, the artful and profligate, who are ever on the watch to seize on any means, however wicked and dangerous, will unite with the fanatics, and make their movements the basis of a powerful political party that will seek advancement by diffusing, as widely as possible, hatred against the slaveholding states. But, as hatred begets hatred, and animosity animosity, these feelings would become reciprocal, till every vestige of attachment would cease to exist between the two sections, when the Union and the Constitution, the offspring of mutual affection and confidence, would forever perish.

Such is the danger to which the movements of the abolitionists expose the country. If the force of the obligation is in proportion to the magnitude of the danger, stronger cannot be imposed, than is at present, on the States, within whose limits the danger originates; to arrest its further progress.